



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The Negro in relation to Civilised Society. By S. E. B. BOUVERIE
PUSEY, Esq., F.A.S.L., F.E.S.

THE paper I purpose to read is intended to establish the proposition, that the negro (in whatever other respect he may, or may not, differ from the white man) does at any rate resemble him in this, that the only state in which he can attain his full development is one of freedom, as opposed to slavery; and by slavery, I do not mean only that condition called chattel slavery, in which the bondsman has no rights. This (as has been well observed before in this room) exists in a pure form only in Africa.

All the slave codes in existence amongst nations having any claim to civilisation, attempt to confer rights on the slave, though the extent of these rights, and the means by which they are to be enforced, are in most cases miserably inadequate. However, I am not here to discuss the merits of particular slave codes, but to compare slavery at its best with freedom in a civilised country, as applied to the negro.

By slavery, I mean any condition in which an adult is placed (without reference to his own will), at the disposal of another. The abolitionists of slavery feel that they are espousing the generous side of the question; they feel that it is æsthetically to be desired that beings so like ourselves as the negroes are, should also, like ourselves, be free in freedom. But the question is not to be decided on any such grounds.

I have no intention of entering here, unless incidentally, on the problem how far the intelligence of the negro may extend, further than that it is such as to qualify him for personal freedom. I shall not discuss, *e. g.*, whether the negro race is likely to produce men of genius, or is capable of founding by itself a society possessing European civilisation, or, as was suggested in a paper read before this Society, of evolving a peculiar civilisation of its own. I intend to lay before the Society this evening the grounds on which I have been led to believe that the negro possesses sufficient intelligence and industry to qualify him for the place of a freeman in a civilised community.

I shall consider :

1. The condition of the negroes in the British West Indies.
2. Their condition in slave countries (the West Indies prior to emancipation included).
3. The condition they have attained in parts of Africa.

It may be said that no man ought to be a slave who is not incapable of providing for himself and his family by voluntary industry. Let us examine by this standard the capabilities of the negro, beginning with the West Indies, because that is the quarter where the question has been most perplexed by contradictory assertions. The authorities on which I shall principally rely in relation to this matter are: *The Ordeal of Free Labour in the British West Indies*, by Wm. S. Sewell; and *The West Indies, their Social and Religious Condition*, by Edward Bean Underhill. The former writer is a Canadian, resident in New York; who travelled in the West Indies towards the end of 1859 and in the beginning of 1860, and published his work

originally in a series of letters to the *New York Times*. The book contains internal evidence of care, impartiality, and desire to get evidence from all sides. It derives additional authentication from the fact of having been reviewed, on the whole favourably, in the *Edinburgh Review* (January 1862), by a writer obviously an old resident in the West Indies, and by no means unfavourable to the planting interest.

Underhill was a Baptist missionary, who travelled in the West Indies at the request of the treasurer and committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, with the object chiefly of investigating the religious condition of the numerous Baptist churches in the West Indies, especially as that condition has been affected by the Act of Emancipation. I am perfectly aware how strong a presumption there is that a man with these objects would not write an accurate, much less an impartial, work. But I am confident that anyone who attentively, and with an unbiassed mind, reads the book, will be convinced that the work is not only accurate and impartial in the ordinary sense, but written with rare judicial care and fairness. Neither of these writers can be classed with what are called "Negrophilists" and "The Black Party," and neither shows the least tendency to introduce any kind of maudlin sentimentality into his treatment of the subject.

I will try to condense the results I have arrived at from these authorities, as to the condition of the negro in each of the British West Indian Islands, beginning with Barbadoes.

It is admitted even by Trollope, who may be regarded as the great authority of the anti-Negro party, that Barbadoes has not suffered since emancipation. In fact, we find (Sewell, page 62) that the average of sugar exportation from 1720 to 1800 was 23,000 hogsheads per annum; from 1800 to 1830, 20,000 hogsheads; showing a decline under slavery of 3,000 hogsheads: a decline attributed by some to the embarrassments of the planters, and by others to the cessation of the African slave trade. "Let us now look," says Sewell, "at the Barbadoes sugar exportations of the present day, premising with the observation, that from 1826 to 1830, the average weight of a hogshead of sugar was 12 cwt.; from 1830 to 1850, 14 cwt.; and is now from 15 to 16, or even 17 cwt. With this difference of weight *against* her, Barbadoes exported in 1852, 48,610 hogsheads; in 1853, 38,316; in 1854, 44,492; in 1855, 39,692; in 1856, 43,552; in 1857, 38,858; in 1858, 50,778, or nearly double what she exported during the most favourable year of slavery."* Sewell then passes in review the whole of the exports and imports of Barbadoes with similar results.

It may be asked whether any light can be thrown on the causes of this extraordinary prosperity of the sugar planters of Barbadoes, as compared with those of the other West Indian Islands. We must remember that in Barbadoes the land is as densely peopled as in the old countries of Europe (800 persons to the square mile), and that, therefore, the employer has the command of the labour market. This fact seems to offer a clue to the West Indian enigma, by suggesting

* This was written in 1859, and the export of 1858 was therefore the last to which the author could refer.

that the phenomena of the West Indian labour market depend, not so much on the characteristics of race, as on the most obvious laws of political economy. We all know that in a new country it is one of the greatest difficulties to obtain steady and continuous labour; for as soon as the labourer amasses a little money, he establishes himself as a small proprietor. Now in the United States, and in our own colonies, the vacuum thus created is perpetually being filled up by a fresh stream of immigration from Europe; but in the West Indies (as the white man either cannot live and work there, or thinks that he cannot, and therefore does not come), and the black cannot now be brought, this vacuum remains unfilled, except partially by Coolie immigration from India and China. This cause would alone be amply sufficient (even if there were no other) for what is commonly called the ruin of the West Indies, *i. e.*, the ruin of their principal planters, and the enormous diminution of their sugar and coffee exports. But we shall find there are many additional reasons which would contribute to that result, equally independent of ethnological considerations. These I shall consider by and bye.

In the small island of St. Lucia also, we find that the sugar exportation amounted, in 1857, to 6,261,875 lbs. against an average yearly export of from three to four millions prior to emancipation. And the exportation of cocoa during 1857 was 251,347 lbs. against 91,280 lbs. in former times. In this island the metairie system prevails, under which the landlord and tenants are partners both in the expenses and in the profits of cultivation. (Sewell, p. 93.) This instance of St. Lucia would seem to show that liberality and flexibility on the part of the owners of the estates may produce the same beneficial results to them as density of population.

Having spoken now of the only two islands on which the planters have not suffered, let us examine if there are any causes, unconnected with negro character, which would account for their misfortunes in the other islands. We shall find, on investigation, that the West Indian planters (as a body) were generous indeed, and hospitable, but violent, wrong-headed, unbusiness-like, and devoid of any flexibility in adapting themselves to circumstances, to a degree which has seldom been equalled.

1. They were nearly all non-resident, frequently understood little of the West Indies, and their cultivation; and were, therefore, in the hands of agents who had to be paid large salaries, and lay obviously under great temptations.

2. The business of sugar cultivation is one of a highly speculative character.

3. They were commonly extravagant.

4. As the natural result of these causes combined, they were mostly in debt.

5. Having begun with a system of slavery (unparalleled in its destructiveness to human life, except in Cuba) they strenuously resisted, and considered as intolerable oppression any attempt to extend the protection of the law to their slaves.

6. On the verge of emancipation, with the black population ex-

ceeding them in number as five to one, ready to break into insurrection at any moment, they had the insanity to meet the measures of the home government with words and acts bordering on high treason.

7. After emancipation they showed themselves totally ignorant of the nature of a contract. They said, and published to the world, that it was a great crime in the negroes not to work for a "fair" rate of remuneration, as if any man had not a right to stick out for as much wages as he could get.

8. All the results of these their faults were aggravated by the injustice done them in assigning them a compensation amounting only to about two-thirds of the real value of their slaves; we may conclude then, that the ruin of most of the planters is satisfactorily accounted for, without taking into account any differences there may be between the negro and the white man. In fact, if the negro had been as industrious as the Anglo-Saxon, they would certainly have been ruined a great deal faster, for he would more speedily and universally have passed from the condition of a labourer to that of a peasant proprietor or farmer.

As it is certain that in all the islands, except the two I have mentioned, the negro does not readily work for the planter, it becomes a question what does he do? Does he spend his time in idleness, or does he work for himself? This question can be sufficiently answered, chiefly from the authorities I have already mentioned. 1. A considerable number of them work steadily on the roads and in the mines. Sewell states (p. 284), "I sought information from the Chief Commissioner of Roads, who has 3,000 men under constant employment, and he assured me that they worked diligently for five days in the week, going to market after their custom on the sixth, or devoting it to the cultivation of their own grounds. He had no complaints to make of idleness, and instead of there being a deficiency of hands, he could obtain an additional thousand at any time he chose. The men, he said, preferred breaking stones on the road to estate labour, though the former was much the severer work of the two. I inquired further of the superintendent of the Rio Grande copper mines in the parish of Portland, an intelligent, practical, energetic Englishman, who, for eight years, has had a large body of men under his command. He told me that at first the planters ridiculed his idea of getting labour; nevertheless, in all his experience, he has not known what it was to want labour. If he stood in need of five men, fifteen or twenty would apply. These men worked eight hours a day, and for six days in the week; and though some of them had been in the superintendent's employ five or six years, he never had occasion to complain of their idleness."

The overseers on the roads explained to Sewell (page 194) that, in their opinion, the reason why the negroes would not work for the planters and would work for them, was that they paid their wages regularly every week, whilst the planters were generally in arrear, and frequently altogether defaulting.

The prosperity of the negro peasant proprietor in the parish of St. Ann, Jamaica, is shewn in the following passage of Sewell (p. 195):

1. "The district through which I have been travelling is composed entirely of pasture land. All the settlers own a horse and stock of some kind. Their cottages are very neat and tidy, and are shrouded with cocoas and plaintains."

2. It appears by the latest returns (?) that, out of 187,000 negroes engaged in agriculture, there are 50,000 proprietors, of whom all, except a few, have become such by their own unaided efforts.

3. These proprietors seem to own from one or two to five acres. Their labour as proprietors, and not slaves, has materially altered the nature of the industry of the country. I think you will perceive, from the following figures, that the fact is not that the industry of Jamaica has ceased or has been materially diminished, but has been diverted into other channels, which contribute to the prosperity of the negro proprietor, and not to that of the planter.

For instance, in the year 1841, there were exported of coffee 6,433,370 lbs.; and in 1858, 5,237,689 lbs., nearly a million less. But of pimenta, in 1841, there were exported 3,595,380 lbs.; and in 1858, 9,465,261 lbs., *i. e.*, more than six millions more. There is besides, now, a considerable yearly exportation of arrow-root, bees'-wax, honey, cocoa-nuts, and other things, of which there was no exportation whatever so lately as 1841. And what is not less instructive, the importation of all the principal necessities of life, of flour, bread, meal, corn, and pork, has most materially diminished.

What I have said of Jamaica applies equally to the other British West Indian islands. The change that has taken place in them is admirably expressed in the outset of a petition by the planters of Antigua to the home government for coolie emigration. They say (Sewell, 152), "We regard the withdrawal of a large number of the labouring population from the estates, either to engage in the cultivation of land purchased by themselves or to embark successfully in other avocations of life, as the natural consequence of an improved material condition, of the free and equal administration of the law, and of the facilities largely enjoyed for civil and religious instruction. But, while we acknowledge and sympathise with this abstraction, it is clear that a deficiency has been thus created in the supply of manual labour to an extent which is not to be compensated, either by increased skill, by implemental husbandry, or by the application of extended capital."

All these facts will be found fully confirmed in the more detailed account of Underhill; and the whole state of the case cannot be better given than in the words of the lieutenant-governor of Granada to the home government (Colonial Report for 1857, presented 9th August, 1859), page 81: "The growing independence of the native labourer, and his consequent secession from work on the estates, will soon create a void in the labour market which will render a stream of immigration necessary to keep up the cultivation of the staple product of the island. It is generally admitted that the African makes the most efficient labourer; but if he is not to be obtained, the Indian appears to be well qualified to take the place of the creole. It is a remarkable fact, alluded to by Mr. Cockburn, that, so far from the immigrant being regarded by the native labourer with jealousy, he is rather

viewed as one of the means destined to emancipate the latter from the necessity of offering his services for hire, and to enable him to become a cultivator of the soil for his own especial benefit. A proprietary body of considerable magnitude and importance has already risen from the labouring class, and several of its members are possessed of sufficient means to carry on beneficially agricultural pursuits."

The next point I shall endeavour to shew is that the negro, when a slave, works better in proportion as he is treated like a freeman; and that, in those slave countries in which he is not borne down by an overwhelming load of prejudice, he is able to hold a position alongside of his fellow men with credit to himself.

First I shall quote the important testimony of Frederic Law Olmsted, with respect to the slaves of North Carolina (*Journeys and Explorations in the Cotton Kingdom*. London, 1861, pages 146 and 151, vol. i.)

In the great dismal swamp, where Negro slaves are employed without driving, and under the stimulus of wages, Olmsted says, "They are more sprightly and straightforward in their manners and conversation than any field hand plantation negroes that I saw at the south. Two or three of their employers with whom I conversed spoke well of them as compared with other slaves, and made no complaints of rascality or laziness."

In the sounds and inlets of the North Carolina coast, where large shad and herring fisheries are carried on, many stumps of trees, standing where they grew, but now, on account of subsidence of the coast, submerged some way below the water, have to be removed from the fishing ground, on account of the injury they would do to the nets. All the more firmly fixed of these stumps have to be blasted, and negro divers are employed to charge with gunpowder cavities made in them, by driving a sort of long spear from a boat moored over the spot. Olmsted's informant employed several divers, all of them negroes. He thought he had removed over one thousand stumps, and used seventy kegs of powder. All the divers were skilful. Unusual skill or hardihood is rewarded with whiskey or (as while diving they are generally given as much whiskey as they want) with money. Each of them would, in this way, earn from a quarter of a dollar to half a dollar a day above the wages. "On this account," said Olmsted's informant, "the harder you put them to work the better they like it. They frequently had intermittent fever, but would rarely let it keep them out of their boats." Olmsted remarks how surprising this picture of slaves must appear, and accounts for it when he says "they are treated as freemen."

That this also held in the British West Indies under slavery is shewn by the evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons on Extinction of Slavery, held in the year 1832 (Report of Parliamentary Blue Book, 1832, p. 301, No. 4428, *et seq*).

Captain Charles Handen Williams was examined before this commission: He had formed an opinion from visiting the West Indies, that the condition of slavery was a happier condition than that of peasants elsewhere living in freedom. He thought slavery so much

better than the condition of English peasants, that there could be no comparison between them. Clearly, therefore, Captain Williams had no anti-slavery views in any opinion he expressed on the character of blacks. The slaves of Jamaica, he says, supply all the markets in the West Indies. They get six dollars a dozen for chickens, and supply also pigs and vegetables. They furnish large quantities to Kingston market. Some of them will have thirty dollars' worth of poultry and provisions at Kingston market in a morning. They rear them mostly on estates eight or ten miles from the town, either on their own little grounds, or on ground hired from their master, if they want to raise more than their own little grounds will produce. All is raised by their own voluntary labour. They sometimes buy their freedom in this way. An industrious slave, living within six or eight miles of Kingston, will buy his freedom in ten years. Some have luxuries in their houses, bought by the sale of their poultry and pigs.

Robert Scott was examined before the same commission. He had been a proprietor in the island of Jamaica, resident there from 1802 to 1806, and afterwards a few months in 1828 and 1829. He states that the drivers on the estates are selected, not for physical strength, but for good character, and for being men in whom confidence can be placed. The drivers are looked up to by the negroes. They are nearly all blacks and old infirm men (Mr. Scott continues); he has known drivers, and the best drivers. The slaves, he says, are better off than English people think. They get considerable sums by the sale of their poultry and hogs. Many of the field negroes do this. All have pigs and poultry, and, in some instances, cattle. Their industry is increased by the acquisition of property. "A slave with a good deal of property is the best and most easily managed."

James Beckford Wildman was examined. He was proprietor in Jamaica of an estate, with six hundred and forty negroes. He had been resident from the year 1826, two years and a half, and also in 1825. He considered the slaves "by no means inferior to the labouring classes of this country in natural intellect." They were astute in driving bargains, knew well the market price of commodities. He thought that under emancipation the negro would be unwilling to work, and gave three reasons for his belief—the climate, the natural indolence of the negro, and the fertility of the country. He had known the negroes, when employed for their own benefit, exhibit great intelligence and diligence. He had known them under these circumstances carry burdens greater than their masters would have attempted to impose on them, or they have submitted to. Mr. Wildman's attorney, Mr. Phillips, had, while overseer of the Camanas estate, set his people task work, and they then got through their day's work by two o'clock, and went to Kingston to spend the rest of the day in excess. The negro slaves do exert themselves, Mr. Wildman continues, to obtain comfort and advantage beyond necessities of subsistence.

In Brazil we find the same phenomena exhibited, as may be gathered from Wilkes (*United States Exploring Expedition*. Philadelphia, 1845), pp. 52 *et seq.* The negro slaves of Brazil he considers divisible into two classes, those from Northern, and those from Southern

Guinea; that the former are intelligent and industrious, can frequently write Arabic, and are formidable by their power of combination; and that the latter, though not stupid, are idle. But of those which he classes as belonging to Southern Guinea, one half, he says, are Benguelans, whom he characterises as steady, industrious, and intelligent, nearly equal to the Minas, or inhabitants of Northern Guinea.

He states of the freed negroes (it is chiefly the Minas who obtain their freedom), that "those who receive their freedom in reward for faithful services, or purchase it, conduct themselves well. Their descendants are much superior in point of intelligence. Many of them own slaves. There are some blacks who are priests, and others officers in the army."

The Minas come down to the river Congo, and the Benguelans resemble the Minas in character; therefore, we must infer that the remarks made by Wilkes on the negroes of what he calls Southern Guinea apply only to the Congo negro, not the stock from which the majority of slaves is derived.

And Wallace mentions (*Amazons and Rio Negro-Land*, 1853), page 113, the fact of a Congo negro (freed by his master) having saved enough to purchase two slaves and a little land, in terms which would seem to shew that such an incident is, amongst the negroes, not very unusual, and favourably contra-distinguishes them from the Indians.

To this testimony may be added the more explicit statements of Bates. He informs us that in the great insurrection of 1835 and 1836, which threatened Brazil with Mexican anarchy, "the rebels of Para and the Lower Amazons did not succeed in raising the natives of the Solimoens against the whites. A party of forty of them ascended the river for that purpose, but on arriving at Ega, instead of meeting with sympathisers, as in other places, they were surrounded by a small body of armed residents, and shot down without mercy. The military commandant of the time, who was the prime mover in this orderly resistance to anarchy, was a courageous and loyal negro, named José Patricio, an officer known throughout the Upper Amazons for his unflinching honesty and love of order, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making at S. Paulo in 1858."

Bates further speaks of a negro servant of his own in these terms. "I was quite surprised to find in Isidoro little or no trace of that baseness of character which I had read of as being the rule amongst negroes in a slave country . . . The first traits I observed in him were a certain degree of self-respect and a spirit of independence. These I found afterwards to be by no means rare qualities among the free negroes . . . There was nothing ridiculous about Isidoro. There was a gravity of demeanour and sense of propriety about him which would have been considered becoming in a serving-man in any country. . . . I had afterwards to number free negroes amongst my most esteemed friends; men of temperate quiet habits, desirous of mental and moral improvement, observant of the minor courtesies of life, and quite as trustworthy in more important matters as the whites and half-castes of the province."

"There was another visitor besides ourselves, a negro whom João

Trinidad introduced to me as his oldest and dearest friend, who had saved his life during the revolt of 1835; he was a free man, and had a "sitio" (farm) of his own situated about a day's journey from this. There was the same manly bearing about him which I had noticed with pleasure in many other free negroes; but his quiet earnest manner, and the thoughtful and benevolent expression of his countenance shewed him to be a superior man of his class. He told me he had been intimate with our host for thirty years, and that a wry word had never passed between them. . . . It was pleasing to notice the cordiality of feeling and respect for each other shewn by these two old men."

On page 397. In S. Paulo Bates found a companion and friend in the negro tailor of the village, named Mestre Chico, whom he had known in Para previously. He was a free negro by birth, but had had the advantage of kind treatment in his younger days. . . . He neither drank, smoked, nor gambled, and was thoroughly disgusted at the depravity of all classes in this wretched little settlement, which he intended to quit as soon as possible. . . . His manners were courteous, and his talk well worth listening to for the shrewdness and good sense of his remarks. I first met Mestre Chico at the house of an old negress of Para, who used to take charge of my goods when I was absent on a voyage. The old woman was born a slave, but, like many others in the large towns of Brazil, she had been allowed to trade on her own account as market woman, paying a fixed sum daily to her owner, and keeping for herself all her surplus gains. In a few years, she had saved sufficient money to purchase her freedom, and that of her grown-up son. This done, the old lady continued to strive until she had earned enough to buy the house in which she lived, a considerable property, situated in one of the principal streets. When I returned from the interior, after seven years absence from Para, I found she was still advancing in prosperity, entirely through her own exertions, being a widow, and those of her son, who continued with the most regular industry his trade of blacksmith, and was now building a number of small houses on a piece of unoccupied land attached to her property. I found these and many other free negroes most trustworthy people, and admired the constancy of their friendships and the gentleness and cheerfulness of their manners towards each other."

That this extends to other parts of South America appears from the opinion of Humboldt, grounded on what he had observed, not only amongst mulattoes, but also amongst free blacks, that "the continent of Spanish America can produce sugar, cotton, and indigo by free hands, and the unhappy slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and landowners."

Here I shall quote other evidence, given before the same House of Commons commission, to which I have already alluded on Extinction of Slavery, 1832. We have there evidence as to the effects of emancipation and the working of free blacks in the Caraccas. Vice-admiral Fleming was examined. He had been in the Spanish naval service. He had twice been in the Caraccas, on one occasion for four months; had been far into the interior; was, on account of his rank in the

Spanish navy and long connection with Spaniards, as much at home, he says, as he could have been in any country in the world. He knew everybody of any condition. He took great interest in seeing a people newly emancipated, both from a European government (the revolutionary leader Bolívar had upset the Spanish Government and established a republic about 1821) and from slavery.

The free blacks continued to work in the sugar plantations, even in conjunction with slaves. They could have got land of their own and lived by tilling it, but only in the cold parts of the country. They prefer the warm parts, where land is not to be got. They are rapidly progressing towards civilisation. Schools are established; many of the blacks are learning trades; they desire knowledge; they maintain themselves perfectly well without assistance from their former masters or government. The country was progressing, though, at the time of his first visit, suffering from recent war. At his second visit there were large fields of wheat that had not been raised before and after that importation from America ceased.

Admiral Fleming knew several pure blacks in high position. One of them, General Peyanga, he speaks of as a well educated man, well read in Spanish literature, an extraordinary man. Many English officers served under him. There were many other black officers of considerable acquirements.

I come now to my last head, the degree of civilisation, commonly, I think, underrated, to which the negro has attained in Africa. First, Barth (*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London, 1857) everywhere speaks of the inhabitants of the interior of Africa as having attained to something at least resembling the oriental stage of civilisation. Perhaps the most forcible passage is the following (Barth 1, vol. iv. pp. 414 *et seq.*):—

“A native negro sovereign of Timbuctoo, named Mohammed Askia, not only extended his conquests far and wide, from the centre of Houssa almost to the borders of the Atlantic, and from the pagan countries of Mosi 12° northern latitude as far as Tawat to the south of Morocco, but also governed the subjected tribes with justice and equity, causing well-being and comfort to spring up everywhere, and introducing such of the institutions of Mohammedan civilisation as he considered might be useful to his subjects. This king was held in the highest esteem and veneration by the most learned and rigid Mohammedans, whilst his immediate predecessor, a Berber sovereign, had rendered himself odious.

“In this kingdom of Timbuctoo there was a royal treasury and state prison. There were at least two large towns besides the capital, considerable cultivation of literature; one historian of the state, Achmet Bába, had a library of 1,600 volumes; there was considerable commerce with Barbary, export of gold and salt, and in return import of almost all the luxuries of the Arabs. The king spent much of his revenue in introducing horses from Barbary to improve the native breed. Coats of mail are mentioned and brass helmets.”

This is the picture of a negro kingdom early in the sixteenth century.

Not far from here, Barth found (when he was there) a negro population industriously employed in agriculture and weaving. They would not receive in barter the cotton (tarrowel) he had brought with him to buy food, because it was not so good as their own manufacture. But if it be said that these are a higher type of negroes than those commonly slaves, yet Abeokuta belongs to the very centre of the old slave region. It is thus described by Burton. The Egbas of Abeokuta all of them work, either at agriculture or at some handicraft, and though they do not work well (Burton says, an Englishman would knock up a dozen Egbas), he adds, "How can it be otherwise in these malarious, fever-stricken, enervating, effeminising lands. Idleness is a condition imposed by a thermometer generally above 70°."

These people have ideas of division of labour and of trade. They have the five trades of blacksmith, carpenter, weaver, dyer, and potter. The blacksmith is also goldsmith, silversmith, copper-worker, and tinman. He can make rude keys, chains and staples, swords and knives, sickles and hoes. No American Indian or uncivilised Polynesian could do these things. They weave cotton cloth, and dye it with indigo; they have horses, cattle, sheep and goats.

The town is supposed now to have 150,000 inhabitants, and its original settlement (by refugees) does not date further back than 1825. It is rudely fortified. The government is republican. A body of negro refugees who can do this in six and thirty years are not savages, neither are they children who need to be under tutelage; they are civilised men.

After having surveyed the condition of the negro, both slave and free, both in the same country with Europeans and by himself, we may consider it, then, to be proved that he finds his only proper sphere is a position which, though possibly humble, is yet one of freedom.

Dr. CAPLIN said it appeared to him that the question which had been raised had not been met in the paper; for it was not a commercial question respecting the quantity of produce exported when the negroes were in a state of slavery, and when they were emancipated, but whether the negro is naturally susceptible of attaining a state of civilisation. As to their condition in a state of slavery, he believed they are more happy in that state than the white slaves in England and in France. Considering the brain of slaves, the question was, could it not be improved if they were placed in another condition? If the phrenological condition of the brain be considered, it must be admitted that they could be improved, for it was known that the capacity of the brain was increased and its form changed by education. He adduced as an example the change which was known to have been produced in the shape of a gentleman's head in Paris, several years ago. The gentleman had originally a peculiarly formed head, and he could wear his hat only in one direction. His intellectual faculties, however, having become developed by mechanical pursuits, his cranium was altered, and he was observed wearing his hat the wrong way. When he was informed that the buckle of his

hat was behind, he could not believe it possible that he could be wearing his hat the wrong way, because the shape of his head had been so peculiar ; but he then ascertained that it had become altered, and was nearly as wide in front as it was at the back. If such a change could be effected by intellectual exercise in a white man, why should not the head of a negro become changed in the same manner? But under the circumstances in which they were placed, the negroes could not appreciate and enjoy freedom. Instead of being emancipated at once, or allowed to purchase their freedom, they should have been sent to school, and when able to act as civilised men, and taught to comprehend what liberty is, and to become useful members of society, freedom should have been granted to them as the prize for having acquired that knowledge. White men rise to the positions they attain by education and perseverance, and if they were placed in the same position as the negroes, without any opportunity of improvement, they would be as ignorant and stupid as they are. He thought that the negro, having a brain, he could be educated as well, and with the same results, as those who, by the exercise of their brain, are now in a superior position.

The PRESIDENT observed that he considered the question of the capacity of the negro for civilisation had been determined by the paper communicated to the Society at a previous meeting by Mr. Guppy. In that paper it was stated, on the evidence of practical experience, that the negro is incapable of appreciating and participating in European civilisation, and that when removed from restraints imposed on him he goes back into barbarism. The paper they had heard that evening shewed what facts could be collected to support the opposite opinion. But the authorities Mr. Pusey had quoted were principally old authors, and it is only in modern times that we can obtain satisfactory information on the subject. In former times people were blinded to the real state of the case, by considering it as a political question. That consideration no longer prejudiced the question, and we can now look at and consider the facts impartially. Mr. Pusey had collected statements which he (Mr. Pusey) considered satisfactory evidence of the capability of the negro for civilisation. With some of the facts stated he (the President) agreed, but with others he could not agree. Mr. Pusey had said that negroes can act as freemen in civilised society ; that they work better when treated like freemen. Where they were treated as freemen they were comparatively useless, but when taken from Africa and sent to some place where they are partly free they become greatly improved. Mr. Pusey had to go to the West Indies, and to Brazil, and to the works of ancient authors to support his conclusions, that the negro in a free state is capable of civilisation. Modern information, with the exception of Mr. Wallace and Mr. Bates, differs materially from those accounts which had been quoted. Their evidence went to show that, in Brazil, there were free negroes who neither smoke, drink, nor gamble. Cases were also mentioned of industry among the slaves in the upper region of the river Amazons, who worked not only to buy their own freedom, but that they might purchase slaves of their own. Such descriptions

were very different from other accounts. Though he should not like to deny their correctness, so far as he could judge, the facts were generally otherwise. It was said further that the free negroes worked five days of the week, and only ceased from working on Saturdays and Sundays. Other authors stated that the free negro wishes to have every day of the week a Sunday. The fact was that, with the conflicting evidence on the subject, no satisfactory conclusion could be arrived at. Capt. Burton asserted that idleness prevails among people of all races where the temperature exceeds 70° of Fahrenheit. He (the President) did not concur in that opinion, for he considered that idleness was more a question of race than of climate. Dr. Caplin had said that the free negro could become a useful member of civilised society, but it must be borne in mind that he became so in connection with Europeans; and it was hopeless, in the absence of known facts, to speculate that he would become so without that association. That the negro is an inferior race at the present time is certain, and it remains to be proved whether he could, by any possible combination of favourable circumstances, work up to a high state of civilisation if left to himself. The only way by which such proof could be obtained would be to place a number of negroes on islands by themselves, excluded from all communication with other parts of the world, and to ascertain the advances they made towards civilisation in that position. But the Society have not got any islands whereon to carry out such an experiment. For his own part, he could not see the practical bearing of the paper. As to the question who were negroes, and whether all the natives of Africa ought to be so called, the question of the classification of mankind was at present in a very unsatisfactory state. He was glad that the paper had been brought forward, as he hoped it would shew those bigots who conceived that the negro had been unfairly treated by this Society, that our object was not to support slavery, or any pet doctrine, but that it was simply to arrive at the truth.

Mr. BENDYSHE observed that it was extremely difficult to come to any conclusion about the negroes, in consequence of their varieties, and he should be glad if the word negro were expunged from the dictionary. The moment the black men got from Africa to America they became, in point of fact, a different race; and the same argument could not fairly be applied to them as to the black men in Africa. It was the same with other people. The English in America, for example, were different from the English in England; and it was probable that the negroes altered very much by change of circumstances. It was very possible that when they got to the West Indies they might be improved by intercourse with Europeans but at the same time it could not be said that it was impossible they could be civilised in Africa. In different parts of that large continent the negroes differed in character and in circumstances, and they should not all be considered as the same class. Even in London, the inhabitants of St. Giles's were very different from those at the West-end, and the former would not be taken as a representative of the latter. Similar differences might exist among the negroes. It was

well known that those on the coast were of the very worst kind, and if they died out under such circumstances it might be regarded as a proof of their capability for civilisation, for we should do the same. It was quite impossible, in our present state of knowledge, to arrive at any conclusion on the subject. If the term negro were applied only to those black men sent from the west coast of Africa to America, there might be some chance of solving the question; but those residing in other parts of Africa ought to have different names as they have different characters. They occupy an immense tract of country, and as they were capable of mixing among one another and with the whites, that was again a proof of their possessing the capability of improvement. In the West Indies he believed most of the negroes were of mixed blood.

Mr. BOUVERIE PUSEY observed that very few of the negroes in the West Indies were of mixed blood.

Mr. BENDYSHE could scarcely conceive how it was possible that it could be otherwise. In America the negroes were probably mixed with Indian blood, and it became questionable whether the influence of the Indian blood might not preponderate, in consequence of its being indigenous to the climate. A classification of the negroes was wanted before any conclusions could be drawn respecting them.

Mr. G. WITT said he had been informed by a gentleman who had had great opportunities of observation, that there was a curious characteristic of the negro by which he might be distinguished. On feeling at the nose, a negro might be known by the absence of a groove in the fleshy part of the end of the nose, which all other people possess but those who have negro blood and a certain race in India. His friend told him that this peculiarity is used as a test to discover negro blood when the colour of the skin has changed; and that at a ball at New Orleans a man was stationed at the top of the stairs, who grasped at the nose of all suspected persons, and if the groove was absent they were kicked down.

Mr. C. CARTER BLAKE said the fact mentioned by Mr. Witt was far from unlikely, and if at any future time the comparative myology of the negro should be adequately examined, the alleged distinction might prove as correct as many others which pass current in the present state of imperfect knowledge. As to the assumed difference between the negro of Africa and of America, he was at a loss to know in what it consisted. They have been placed in different circumstances, but there are no physical differences between them. It had been said that if the negro were educated, his skull would become altered and resemble that of an European. But, in opposition to that opinion, he adduced the fact that the skull of a Wesleyan deacon in Bermuda was among the lowest of the low negro types. The physical differences between the negro and European had on previous occasions been pointed out, and in the form of the teeth also there was supposed to be a difference, and there was strong anatomical evidence to confirm that distinction. In the second volume of Waitz's *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* there was some curious informa-

tion respecting the characteristics and geographical distribution of the true negro of the west and of the east coast of Africa.

Mr. DU VAL observed that there is a peculiarity in the physiognomy of the negro sufficient to distinguish him, in his projecting lips, his flat nose, and the placing of his head, independently of the colour of his skin. The length of his heel was also characteristic. So that at neither extremity of his body did the negro resemble ourselves; and he doubted very much whether he could be considered a "brother," or even a relative. It was well known that the negroes had never attained a position among civilised men. Every attempt to civilise them had failed, for they had always gone back to their original state.

Mr. REDDIE thought they should never come to a satisfactory conclusion respecting the capability of negroes for civilisation until they had some definition of what was meant by civilisation. No one would deny that the negro might be improved, and taught to do certain things, as some domesticated animals may be, but could that be called civilisation? The Southern States of America had been alluded to as having improved the negroes, and the degree of improvement they had attained had been appealed to by both parties as supporting their opposite opinions. It was a great pity that there should be so much party spirit as existed in America on this question. But in a society like this, they might get rid of the question whether freedom should be immediately granted to the negroes or not. He supposed no one there would object to the negro becoming free, so soon as he is fitted for freedom; at the same time he thought the true philanthropists were those who would keep the slaves in slavery so long as it was for their benefit, but, of course, under humane laws, and with proper regulations for their ultimate manumission. The questions of capability of civilisation and of fitness for freedom, though separate, had been mixed up in the paper, and had thus added to the difficulty of considering the subject. He thought, however, that some conclusions might be arrived at from the facts already known, without the necessity of having experimental islands, as had been suggested by the President. He expected that the author of the paper would have taken a bolder line; but as the question had been treated, he did not know whether Mr. Pusey wished to regard the negro as having always been in a savage condition, or whether he thought that, having once been in a higher position, he had since sunk down to a savage state. If he meant that the African in the central parts of Africa had ever attained a state of civilisation, then the negroes on the coast were unquestionably a degraded race, and it could not be expected that, if they remained under the same influences, they would be improved. The only chance of their improvement was to place them among a higher race. To suppose that without such influence they could rise from a lower state was absurd, because against our actual experience. Even with the influence of civilisation it was a very hard task to raise the negro to a state approaching the European. Before, however, they could determine the question of the negro's capacity for civilisation, they must first have a definition of what was meant by the term. The better kind of negroes in

America are, no doubt, superior to many Europeans in this country, for we have many degraded people among us; but individual instances could not settle the question. Those who assumed the natural equality of the negro race to us, were met with this difficulty: if the negro were capable of rising to a state of civilisation equal to the European; and if he could even achieve it without the influence of a higher race, how could they account for his now being, throughout the world, in a degraded condition? If the negroes possess the power to elevate themselves, why do they not rise? Why have they not already risen?

Mr. BOUVÉRIE PUSEY then replied severally to the objections which had been made to his paper. With respect to Dr. Caplin's objection, that he had treated the subject too commercially, he said he had only treated it as to shew that the conduct of the emancipated negroes was different according to the different modes in which they had been treated. He agreed that the condition of slavery tends to cramp the energy of the slaves, who, having no difficulties to encounter in procuring food and clothing, never acquired the habit of forethought and provision; and what they had done for themselves under those circumstances he considered very remarkable. The President had objected that the authorities quoted in the paper were very old, but to many of them that objection would not apply; for instance, he had quoted in support of his views Sewell, Underhill, Burton, Bates, and Wallace, all of whom were modern authors. But why should not old authorities be trustworthy? It had been said that they were partial and biassed by political prejudices, but all those he had quoted, with one exception, were against the abolitionists. The President thought that the evidence of Mr. Wallace and Mr. Bates was exceptional to that of other modern travellers; but his investigations led him to entertain a different opinion, the general evidence appearing to him to be favourable to the negro. Mr. Witt and Mr. Blake had adverted to physical differences between the negro and European. That, however, was a large subject, and not exactly now under discussion. Whatever might be the result of anatomical investigation, it would not affect his argument; for his own part, indeed, he, while as a transmutationist not attaching to the distinction the same importance as many a transmutationist, believed the negro to be a different species from the European. Mr. Bendyshe had laid stress on the difference between the negro in Africa and out of it, and that when out of Africa the negro was altered by mixed blood. If that were so, it would be in favour of his (Mr. Pusey's) argument; but he did not think much confusion could arise between the true negroes and those of mixed blood. He agreed that it was important to distinguish between the different tribes of negroes in Africa, though most persons believe that they all belong to the same stock. Mr. Reddie had drawn distinctions between the capacity for civilisation and such improvements as take place in the negro when in a state of slavery. It was true that a negro might be made a slave and taught certain things in the same manner as brutes are taught, but that was only domestication. In his opinion, nothing could be termed civilisation that does not imply

freedom, and the possession of sufficient qualities of intelligence and perseverance to fulfil the duties of civilised life. It had been asked by Mr. Reddie, why does not the negro, if capable of civilisation, civilise himself? He (Mr. Pusey) might ask, in reply, why have not the New Zealanders and other barbarous races raised themselves to a state of civilisation equal to the Europeans? It had been objected that many of the cases he adduced were only individual instances, and that they proved nothing, but for his part he considered that individual instances prove a great deal in connection with other things.

The PRESIDENT stated that another paper had been announced to be read, respecting human remains discovered in a kist in the Isle of Portland, but it had been ascertained that the flint flakes found with them were spurious, and the paper had consequently been withdrawn. The President then said it was his present duty to announce that the meetings of the society for the season had been brought to a close, and that the next meeting would be held on the 1st November. At the approaching meeting of the British Association at Bath, anthropology would be represented in Section E, and he trusted the Fellows of the Anthropological Society would meet there and support the claims of anthropology to be recognised as a distinct science in the proceedings of the association. During the six months that had elapsed since the anniversary meeting, two hundred new Fellows had been added to their list, and he hoped that under the influence of their assistant secretary, Mr. Blake, and that of the Council, when they met again, he should have to announce a considerable increase of members and the further success of the Society.

The meeting then adjourned to the 1st November next.
